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AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

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SECTO 24

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP, PFOR, NATO

SUBJ: NATO MINISTERIAL; MORNING SESSION, DEC 10

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

BEGIN SUMMARY: FOLLOWING OPENING COMMENTS BY HONORARY CHAIRMAN
DOUGLAS-HOME, SYG LUNS RE EMPHASIZED NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING
VIGILANCE TOWARD MOSCOW, AS ALLIANCE BUILDS DETENTE. INITIAL
STATEMENTS (BY CANADA, TURKEY, FRG, UK, NORWAY, ITALY, BELGIUM,
ICELAND, PORTUGAL, DENMARK, AND THE NETHERLANDS) GENERALLY
ECHOED CONCERN EXPRESSED BY LUNS AND CALLED ATTENTION TO
CURRENT STRAINS ON ALLIANCE ATTRIBUTED MAINLY TO DIFFERING
POSITIONS ON MIDDLE EAST, UK (DOUGLAS-HOME) THOUGHT MINISTERS
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SHOULD REGARD DIFFERENCES WITHIN ALLIANCE AS A WARNING,
STRESSED EQUAL STATUS OF ALL ALLIES, AND EXPRESSED OPTIMISM
THAT DIVERGENCIES WOULD BE OVERCOME, SINCE NATO IS PRESENTLY
MORE NEEDED THAN EVER BEFORE. SEVERAL MINISTERS COMMENDED

THE SECRETARY FOR HIS APRIL 23 INITIATIVE AND FOR HIS EFFORTS TOWARDS A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. MOST CALLED FOR PATIENCE, SOLIDARITY AND FIRMNESS IN BOTH CSCE AND MBFR. DENMARK AND THE NETHERLANDS ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH AN APPEAL BY NORWAY TO THE NEW GREEK GOVERNMENT TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY, AND BELGIUM ASKED THAT WESTERN IDEALS BE UPHELD WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. END SUMMARY.

1. UK FONMIN DOUGLAS-HOME, AS HONORARY CHAIRMAN OF NATO, OPENED MINISTERIAL MEETING WITH ALLUSION TO RECENT REMARK OF FRENCH FONMIN JOBERT THAT "WE HAVE A GOOD ALLIANCE AND SHOULD KEEP IT." DOUGLAS-HOME ADDED HE HOPED ALLIES WOULD DO JUST THAT.

2. SYG LUNS NOTED RECENT ALLIANCE STRAINS AND INDICATED PUBLIC OPINION WOULD CAREFULLY SCRUTINIZE NATO MIN RESULTS. TURNING TO AGENDA, LUNS SAW "IMPORTANT PROGRESS" SINCE LAST NATO MINISTERIAL IN COPENHAGEN ON WORK OF ATLANTIC DECLARATION, EXPRESSED "CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM" ON MBFR--SAYING NATO COULD BE "VERY SATISFIED INDEED WITH EXTENT OF ALLIED CONSULTATIONS," AND THOUGHT MINISTERS COULD BE "SATISFIED" WITH CSCE CONSULTATIONS AS WELL.

3. HE THEN OFFERED "FRANK COMMENTS" ON STATE OF ALLIANCE, EMPHASIZING SOVIETS MAY BE "TALKING SOFTLY BUT THEY ARE STILL CARRYING A BIG STICK." IF BALANCE OF POWER NOT MAINTAINED IN EUROPE, WITH US FORCES REMAINING IN STRENGTH, MOWCOW MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO EXPLOIT SITUATION. LUNS POINTEDLY REMINDED MINISTERS OF 1968 WARSAW PACT INTERVENTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT NATO DEFENSE EFFORTS, WHILE INCREASING, HAVE NOT KEPT UP WITH "ENORMOUS RISE" IN SOVIET MILITARY SPENDING. IN YEARS BEFORE WORLD WAR II, LIKE USSR, "ANOTHER COUNTRY WAS PILING UP ARMS AND SIGNING FRIENDSHIP AGREEMENTS RIGHT AND LEFT." EUROPEANS WERE MOST RELUCTANT TO DRAW UNAVOIDABLE LESSONS FROM THAT SITUATION; THEY SHOULD NOW SQUARELY FACE THE CONTINUING SOVIET CHALLENGE. ALLIES MUST NOT SACRIFICE DEFENSE SPENDING, AS THEY CONTEND WITH CURRENT OIL CRISIS. JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT ALSO POSES A CHALLENGE, WHICH MUST BE MET BY TAKING UP SOME OF
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"BURDEN AMERICANS HAVE BORNE SO LONG."

4. CANADA (SHARP) EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR LUN'S REMARKS AND ACKNOWLEDGED SPECIAL STRAINS HAD BESET ALLIES IN RECENT MONTHS. RESULTS, HOWEVER, SHOW WE CAN DISCUSS DIFFERENCES WITHOUT IMPAIRING ALLIANCE. DIVERGENT REACTIONS TO MIDDLE EAST CRISIS REPRESENTED "ONE OF MOST SERIOUS" SUCH DIFFERENCES. "ENCOURAGING SIGNS" ARE IN VIEW AT PRESENT, HOWEVER, SINCE ARBS AND ISRAELIS APPEAR READY TO BEGIN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. CANADA PLEASED TO PROVIDE TROOPS TO UNEF MAINTAINING CEASEFIRE ALONG SUEZ CANAL. SHARP LOOKS FORWARD TO ANALYSIS OF SECRETARY KISSINGER, "WHO HAS PLAYED SUCH A KEY ROLE" IN EFFECTING CEASEFIRE AND LAUNCHING PEACE TALKS. RECENT EVENTS DEMONSTRATE ALLIED CONSULTATION PRO-

CESS SHOULD BE REVISED TO ENSURE "FRANK AND TIMELY" COORDINATION IN FUTURE CRISES.

5. CANADA WELCOMES "ENCOURAGING" START OF MBFR TALKS IN VIENNA BUT BELIEVES SOVIETS WILL "SEEK ADVANTAGES IF NATO IS NOT CAREFUL." SOVIET CALL FOR REDUCTION IN WESTERN FORCES WILL HAVE TO BE STUDIED WITH PARTICULAR CARE. ON CSCE, SHARP COMMENDED ALLIED "FIRMNESS TOGETHER WITH AVOIDANCE OF POLEMICS." RECALLING HIS RECENT VISIT TO USSR, HE ASKED FOR PATIENCE AT GENEVA IN DEFENDING WESTERN VIEWS RESISTING TEMPTATION TO ACCEPT LESS THAN SATISFACTORY RESULTS IN CSCE STAGE II. WEST MIGHT HAVE TO REJECT HIGH LEVEL CSCE FINALE--OR PERHAPS REFUSE ANY THIRD STATE MEETING WHATEVER--IF SOVIETS SHOW INSUFFICIENT FLEXIBILITY. RE ICELAND, SHARP CONGRATULATED LUNS FOR HIS CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN SMOOTHING REYKJAVIK-LONDON DIFFERENCES AND NOTED OTTAWA'S READINESS TO HELP BOTH PARTIES. MENTIONING YEAR OF EUROPE BRIEFLY, SHARP CONGRATULATED FRENCH FONMIN JOBERT ON TABLING DRAFT NATO DECLARATION AND TAKING ACCOUNT OF OTHER ALLIES' VIES. HE CAUTIONED AGAINST TENDENCIES TOWARD US DECISION-MAKING WITH EC-NINE, SAYING LACK OF COORDINATION BY ALL 15 "COULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE" SUPPORT OF NATO IN CANADA.

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6. TURKISH FONMIN BAYULKEN ASSOCIATED HIMSELF SPECIFICALLY WITH

LUNS' INTRODUCTOR REMARKS, EMPHASIZING THAT "DETERRENCE AND DETENTE ARE CLOSELY INTERTWINED." ANKARA IS CONCERNED THAT WARSAW PACT EVIDENTLY SEES NO CONTRADICTION BETWEEN DETERRENT EFFORTS AND STEADILY ACCELERATING BUILDUP OF ARMAMENTS. IN MIDDLE EAST, WARSAW PACT VIEW ALSO "DIFFERS SOMEWHAT FROM OURS"--AS SHOWN BY SOVIET MOVES, WHICH STAND "IN STRIKING CONTRAST TO SOFTER POLICIES" PRESENTLY DIRECTED TOWARD WESTERN EUROPE.

7. BAYULKEN NOTED "BUSINESS-LIKE" WARSAW PACT ATTITUDE SO FAR AT MBFR, BUT THOUGHT TWO SIDES FAR APART ON INITIAL PROPOSALS. ALLIES SHOULD SEE TO IT THAT MBFR DOES NOT PERMIT SOVIET CONSOLIDATION IN EASTERN EUROPE, THUS ALLOWING MOSCOW TO STRENGTHEN PRESSURE ON ALLIANCE FLANKS. HE FORESAW PROTRACTED MBFR NEGOTIATIONS AND WARNED AGAINST CONCESSIONS AIMED AT ACCELERATING PACE OF TALKS. ON CSCE, TURKEY SEES "NO TANGIBLE RESULTS" THUS
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FAR, BUT PLACES "CONSIDERABLE VALUE" ON BEGINNING OF EAST-WEST DIALOGUE. BAYULKEN ALSO WARNED OF DANGERS IN OFFERING CONCESSIONS UNDER AGENDA ITEM I WHICH "CANNOT BE WITHDRAWN," AND STRESSED THAT FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES MUST BE STRICTLY LIMITED. IN YEAR OF EUROPE, IT IS IMPERATIVE ALLIANCE NOT EMERGE WITH ITS DEFENSE STRUCTURE WEAKENED AND COHESION FRAGMENTED.

8. ON MIDDLE EAST, TURKEY HAD LONG FORECAST DANGER OF POSSIBLE ARAB-ISRAELI EXPLOSION. RECENT HOSTILITIES BROUGHT SHARPLY INTO PERSPECTIVE THE FACT THAT MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS MUST BE SEEN IN CONTEXT OF PERIL TO ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE, SINCE UNPREDICTABLE DEVELOPMENTS COULD LEAD TO "HOT CONFRONTATION WITH SOVIETS." TOUCHING ON CYPRUS, BAYULKEN ACKNOWLEDGED LIMITED PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS, BUT CITED CONTINUING NEED FOR "COMMUNAL AUTONOMY."

9. FRG (SCHEEL) ALSO CITED RECENT INTRA-ALLIANCE DIFFERENCES ON MIDDLE EAST, WHICH HAD CREATED CONCERN AND DOUBT IN PUBLIC OPINION OF NATO STATES. HE CALLED ATTENTION TO REMARK BY SECRETARY THAT ALLIANCE WAS "IRREPLACEABLE" AND SAID EUROPEAN ALLIES EMPHATICALLY AGREED WITH THAT ASSESSMENT. SCHEEL SPOKE OF TWO CRUCIAL POINTS: (1) LOCATION OF MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT WAS "AT EUROPE'S FRONT DOOR." HE RECALLED SOME EUROPEANS HAD CONSISTENTLY WARNED OF "ARAB-ISRAELI DRIFT TOWARD RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES" AND HAD HOPED FOR INITIATIVES, WHICH UNFORTUNATELY FAILED TO MATERIALIZE. (2) WESTERN EUROPEANS ARE MUCH MORE DEPENDENT THAN OTHERS ON CRUDE OIL IMPORTS. WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW SOVIET ROLE IN MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS, SCHEEL ARGUED "ONE FACT IS SURELY BEYOND DOUBT"--THAT ALLIANCE WOULD HAVE BEEN SOLIDLY BEHIND US, IF REAL THREAT OF US-SOVIET CONFRONTATION HAD DEVELOPED. RECENT PROBLEMS SHOW THAT CONSULTATION MACHINERY REQUIRES IMPROVEMENT--ONE WAY BEING THROUGH PROGRESS TOWARD EUROPE'S SPEAKING WITH ONE VOICE.

10. ON NATO DECLARATION, SCHEEL ECHOED CONGRATULATIONS TO JOBERT FOR HIS DRAFT, WHICH BONN CONSIDERS "OF ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE."

RE US-EC DECLARATION, SCHEEL BELIEVED THE NINE WERE PURSUING TWO PURPOSES: (1) TO ENSURE CONTINUITY OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH US; AND, (2) TO SEE THAT NOTHING HAMPERS EC UNIFICATION. REVIEWING FRG RESPONSE TO US CALL FOR BURDENSARING, SCHEEL TRACED FRG OFFSET CONTRIBUTIONS TO US AND UK SINCE 1961 AND WAS PLEASED WITH IMPROVING US BALANCE OF PAYMENTS SITUATION.
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THOUGH CURRENT OIL CRISIS "PUTS HEAVY STRAINS" ON ITS BUDGET, FRG PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN CONTINUING HELP TO US--AS IN INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAM--"PROVIDED OTHER ALLIES DO THE SAME." SCHEEL BELIEVES BERLIN AGREEMENT HAS BROUGHT "CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENT" BUT CAUTIONED THAT SPORADIC ONGOING BERLIN PROBLEMS CAN BE OVERCOME ONLY BY GOOD WILL ON ALL SIDES. MBFR NEGOTIATIONS HAVE PROVED THAT ALLIES CAN SPEAK WIT
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12. IN REPORTEDLY EXTEMPORANEOUS CONCLUDING REMARKS, DOUGLAS-HOME NOTED NATO MEMBERS' "WEST-WEST RELATIONS" NEEDED REPAIR AND WARNED THAT SOVIET THREAT, WHICH BROUGHT ALLIANCE INTO BEING" IS STILL THERE." ALLIANCE IS MADE UP OF DEMOCRACIES, WHICH BY NATURE DISLIKE PREPARING FOR WAR AND ARE OFTEN SLOW TO REACT TO CRISES. BECAUSE DEMOCRACIES SOMETIMES NEED PUBLICLY TO ADDRESS CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES, SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS RIGHT LAST APRIL IN CALLING FOR A "FRESH ACT OF CREATION, WHICH

DOUGLAS-HOME HAD WELCOMED IN SPEECH 27 APRIL. PARALLEL NEGOTIATIONS OF ENSUING MONTHS ON NATO AND US-EC DECLARATIONS MUST CONTINUE; THEIR CESSATION WOULD HAVE VERY SERIOUS REPERCUSSIONS. HE WOULD WELCOME ALLIES' VIEWS ON: (1) EC NINE EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH COMMON POSITIONS--NOTING ADVANTAGE TO ALLIANCE OF POLITICAL UNIFICATION OF EUROPE, A COCKPIT OF TWO WORLD WARS; AND (2) LESSONS OF MIDDLE EAST, ON WHICH US AND WEST EUROPEANS HAVE HAD DIFFERING VIEWS. ENDING ON "BRIGHTER SIDE," DOUGLAS-HOME
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JOINED PRAISE OF "EXTREMELY ELEGANT AND USEFUL" FRENCH DRAFT NATO DECLARATION, THOUGHT 25TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF ALLIANCE MIGHT BE PROPITIOUS TIME FOR SIGNING DECLARATION, AND CALLED UPON EUROPEANS TO ASSUME GREATER SHARE OF COMMON DEFENSE. UNDERSCORING THAT, UNLIKE WARSAW PACT, NATO IS MADE UP OF EQUAL MEMBERS, WHO ARGUE OUT DIFFERENCES IN PUBLIC, HE EXPRESSED OPTIMISM THAT STRENGTH DERIVING FROM ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC STATES WOULD PERMIT NATO TO OVERCOME PRESENT DIVERGENCIES.

13. NORWAY (FRYDENLUND) SAID THE NEW NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE THE MAIN LINES OF ITS POSTWAR FOREIGN POLICY. CONDITIONS HAVE CHANGED, HOWEVER, AND IT IS REASONABLE BOTH FOR THE US TO DEMAND MORE EQUITABLE BURDENSARING AND FOR THE OTHER ALLIES TO HAVE GREATER INFLUENCE ON WESTERN POLICY. INTERDEPENDENCE CONTINUED TO BE A REALITY WHICH, IF ANYTHING, REQUIRED GREATER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION AMONG THE ALLIES. THE ALLIANCE DECLARATION SHOULD PLACE MORE EMPHASIS ON DETENTE, REFLECTING NATO'S ROLE AS AN IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT IN PROMOTING IMPROVED EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

14. FRYDENLUND THEN FIRMLY CRITICIZED THE GREEK GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THAT ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY IS BASED UPON JOINT SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY. "NATO IS OF THE PEOPLE AND FOR THE PEOPLE," AND IT IS NECESSARY TO ENSURE THAT THE ALLIANCE DEFENSE SYSTEM REMAINS IN SERVICE TO DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT THE EVENTS OF NOVEMBER 16 WERE NOT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESENT GREEK GOVERNMENT, FRYDENLUND ASKED ATHENS TO UPHOLD DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO RESTORE A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

15. ITALY (MORO) BELIEVED EUROPE CAN AND MUST PLAY A ROLE IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. NOTING FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT APPROACHES OF EAST AND WEST TO BOTH CSCE AND MBFR, MORO SAID THAT THE FUTURE STABILITY OF EUROPE WILL DEPEND UPON THE RESULTS OF THESE TWO NEGOTIATIONS AND NOTHING SHOULD JEOPARDIZE THE "GRAND DESIGN" OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION. ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS, THE SPEED OF EVENTS MAKE IT NECESSARY FOR THE ALLIES TO CONSULT CONSTANTLY AND TO EXAMINE HOW THE MACHINERY FOR ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS CAN BE IMPROVED.

16. BELGIUM (VAN ELSLANDE) PAID TRIBUTE TO FRANCE FOR ITS DRAFT
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AND TO THE US FOR SUPPORTING THE FRENCH TEXT AS THE BASIS FOR WORK. SOLIDARITY IN COLLECTIVE DEFENSE ASSUMES POLICY COORDINATION, WHICH MUST BE BASED UPON PERMANENT CONSULTATIONS ADAPTABLE TO DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES, SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST WAR AND THE ENERGY CRISIS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZED THE FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENT FOR BURDENSARING AND WAS READY TO DO ITS SHARE WITHIN ITS MEANS. BELGIUM IS PREPARED TO INCREASE ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE NATO MILITARY AND CIVIL BUDGETS AND IN INFRASTRUCTURE AND PIPELINE FUNDING. IN AN OBLIQUE REFERENCE TO GREEK REGIME, VAN ELSLANDE, IN CONNECTION WITH HIS COMMENTS ON INTERSTATE PRINCIPLES AND HUMAN CONTACTS IN CSCE, SAID THAT THE PRACTICE OF WESTERN IDEALS IS A CONSTANT AND NECESSARY OBLIGATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE AS WELL AS OUTSIDE IT.

17. ICELAND (AGUSTSSON) SAID THAT BECAUSE OF ITS GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION, ICELAND HAS A STRONG INTEREST IN IMPROVED TRANS-ATLANTIC COOPERATION, AND HE HOPED THAT THE ALLIANCE DECLARATION WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO PUBLIC OPINION. AGUSTSSON REGRETTED THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO PROPOSE MORE EXTENSIVE MEASURES

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IN MBFR, BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WOULD BE A SLOW PROCESS REQUIRING PATIENT EFFORT. HE THOUGHT CSCE HAD MADE SOME HEADWAY. WITHOUT MENTIONING LUNS BY NAME, HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION TO THOSE WHO HAD CONTRIBUTED TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A FAVORABLE OUTCOME TO THE ICELANDIC-UK FISHERIES DISCUSSIONS, AND HE HOPED FOR SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF ICELANDIC-FRG TALKS IN NEAR FUTURE. ON IDF ISSUE, ICELAND HAD REJECTED ALTERNATIVES OF MAINTAINING STATUS QUO, WHICH WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO ICELANDERS, TERMINATING THE FACILITIES, WHICH WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE US AND OTHER ALLIES. THE ICELANDIC GOVERNMENT WAS, THEREFORE, CONCENTRATING ON "DEMILITARIZATION" OF THE BASE THROUGH A COMBINATION OF STATIONING TROOPS ELSEWHERE AND MANNING THE FACILITIES INCREASINGLY BY ICELANDIC CIVILIANS.

18. PORTUGAL (PATRICIO) BELIEVED THAT THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS UNDERLINED: THE NEED FOR FINDING NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY, THE
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FACT THAT THE ARABS MAY BE TAKING UNWISE RISKS FOR THEIR OWN FUTURE WELLBEING, THE CRITICAL ROLE OF SEA TRANSPORT, AND THE DANGERS TO THE ALLIANCE OF DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA. DETENTE HAD MADE A USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TO RESTRAINING THE CONFLICT, WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE SERIOUS HAD IT TAKEN PLACE IN A COLD WAR ATMOSPHERE. NONETHELESS, THE WARSAW PACT WAS INCREASING ITS DEFENSE STRENGTH AT AN IMPRESSIVE RATE, AND THE ALLIES MUST THUS MAINTAIN THEIR POLITICAL SOLIDARITY, MILITARY PREPAREDNESS, AND ECONOMIC VITALITY.

19. DENMARK (ANDERSEN) REPORTED, ON THE BASIS OF DISCUSSIONS WITH MOST OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN DENMARK, THAT THE "GREAT MAJORITY" FAVOR CONTINUING DANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO. IN CONNECTION WITH THE ALLIANCE DECLARATION, DENMARK WANTED TO CONFIRM THE SOLIDARITY OF ALL FIFTEEN ALLIES, STATE THAT EUROPE SHOULD BEAR ITS APPROPRIATE SHARE OF THE DEFENSE BURDEN, AND HAVE THE ALLIES ACCEPT AN OBLIGATION TO CONSULT ON MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST, AS LONG AS THIS OBLIGATION DID NOT LEAD TO DE FACTO ENLARGEMENT OF THE ALLIANCE OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA. ANDERSEN ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH THE NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S REMARKS ON THE SITUATION IN GREECE, WHICH THE DANISH PARLIAMENT "REGRETS." THE ALLIANCE IS BASED UPON RESPECT FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS, YET THE GREEK PEOPLE CONTINUE TO BE DEPRIVED OF THOSE RIGHTS. ANDERSEN STATED DANISH OPPOSITION TO ANY ARTIFICIAL TIME LIMIT ON CSCE AND SAID THAT THE EASTERN MBFR DRAFT IS UNACCEPTABLE. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, ANDERSEN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION TO THE US FOR ITS ROLE AND CALLED FOR A CONTINUOUS DIALOGUE AMONG THE ALLIES.

20. NETHERLANDS (VAN DER STOEL), CONSIDERED THAT CSCE HAD MADE NO REAL PROGRESS AND ADDED THAT IF PROGRESS DOES NOT PROVE POSSIBLE WITHIN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS, THE ALLIES MAY NEED TO LOOK AGAIN AT THE SITUATION. ON MBFR, MOVEMENT HAD OCCURRED EARLIER THAN

EXPECTED, BUT THIS NEGOTIATION WOULD BE A LONG PROCESS REQUIRING GREAT STAMINA ON THE WESTERN SIDE. NOTING THAT SOVIETS WERE ALSO TAKING A TOUGH POSITION IN SALT II, VAN DER STOEL CALLED UPON THE ALLIES TO BASE THEMSELVES ON A POSITION OF STRENGTH IN DETENTE NEGOTIATIONS.

21. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE ALLIES SHOULD GIVE CONTINUING EXAMINATION TO THE IMPLICATIONS OF SOVIET MIDDLE EASTERN POLICIES. IT
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IS POSSIBLE THAT THE SOVIETS WERE UNABLE TO EXTRICATE THEMSELVES FROM A WEB OF PREVIOUS COMMITMENTS, BUT IT IS EQUALLY POSSIBLE THAT THE SOVIETS TOOK FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE SITUATION TO URGE THE ARABS TO USE OIL SUPPLIES AS A POLITICAL WEAPON IN AN EFFORT TO PUT PRESSURE ON WESTERN EUROPE, DIVIDE THE ALLIES AND GAIN ADVANTAGES IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE ALLIES, PARTICULARLY THE US, SHOULD IMPRESS UPON THE SOVIETS THAT CONTINUING SEVERE RESTRICTIONS IN OIL SUPPLIES RESULTING IN ECONOMIC DANGERS TO THE WEST WOULD ERODE THE BASIS FOR DETENTE AND FOR POLICIES OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION FOR THE EAST. ALL ALLIES MUST KEEP THE COUNCIL FULLY INFORMED OF MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS, IF THEY ARE TO HARMONIZE THEIR POLICIES.

2. VAN DER STOEL ALLUDED TO THE DUTCH DISPLEASURE WITH THE GREEK REGIME, BY PROPOSING THAT REAFFIRMATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS APPEAR AT THE BEGINNING OF THE ALLIANCE DECLARATION AND BY STATING THAT ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY MUST BE BASED UPON THESE PRINCIPLES. REFERRING TO THE NORWEGIAN STATEMENT, VAN DER STOEL SAID THAT EACH ALLY MUST FULLY RESPECT THE OBLIGATIONS TO SAFEGUARD THE PRINCIPLES OF

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